A Palace for Dreams: Lunéville and the Royal Aspirations of the Dukes of Lorraine, from Léopold to Stanislas Leszczyński

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The name Lunéville conjures up images of the moon, the celestial body that governs the night: the time for dreams. The moon also offers a pale contrast to the brilliance of the sun, a fitting image of the relationship between Lunéville and Versailles. The palace at Lunéville, constructed in the first decades of the eighteenth century by Léopold, Duke of Lorraine, was intended to compare favourably with, but not to outshine or threaten, the newly completed palace of the Sun King at Versailles. It was built to demonstrate that the Duke was a proper sovereign, a full member of the society of princes, not anyone's subject. A few decades later, the Palace of Lunéville was used for similar purposes by its last full-time resident, the former King of Poland, Stanislas Leszczyński, who desired a residence and a court worthy of a royal sovereign, albeit a sovereign who had lost his genuine sovereignty. This chapter will examine the palace of Lunéville and those who lived in it during the reigns of these two princes, with specific reference to aspiration and representation. Duke Léopold made use of his dynastic links to both the Bourbon and Habsburg dynasties, as well as to his own family's more ancient connections with the former Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Kingdom of Naples, eventually winning full recognition of his royal rank by both the Emperor and the King of France. He built his palace to represent this rank both in visual iconography and spatial layout. In contrast, Stanislas had already formally obtained royal rank before he arrived in Lorraine, as King of Poland from 1704 to 1709, but was committed to maintaining this status by displaying one of the main attributes of royal status—magnificence—through his active

use of court patronage on a grand scale. Both were dreaming of a royal crown, one for the future and one from the past.[1]

The Château de Lunéville has been under considerable academic scrutiny in recent years, due to the intensive restoration activities that followed a tragic fire in January 2003.[2] Research has been extended as far back as the very foundations of a Celtic fortress which may have given the town its name. Toponymists disagree on the origins of the name Lunéville, though it seems unlikely that it derives from the Latin word for 'moon'. Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century, the dukes who resided there played upon this linguistic connection. The coat-of-arms of the town includes three crescent moons, moons can be seen in some of the decorative work on the palace or other civic buildings, and several of the features in the palace gardens refer to the cult of Diana, goddess of the moon—or more appropriately to the local Celtic goddess, Arduina, who possibly had a shrine near the site.[3] There had been a castle here since the tenth century, standing as sentry to guard trade routes for the precious commodity of the region: salt. By the mid-thirteenth century, the castle had become a regular summer residence of the dukes of Lorraine, a useful retreat from the confined spaces of the ducal capital in Nancy, about 35 kilometres away. Despite a few modifications here and there by successive

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I would like to thank the organisers of 'Power and Architecture: Residences of Monarchs and Seats of State Authorities in Europe' for putting together such an interesting gathering of scholars from around Europe.

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An annual publication was launched in 2005 to track the reconstruction work, *Les Cahiers du Château*. A beautifully illustrated volume that appeared the same year as the fire has been invaluable in researching this chapter: Jacques Charles-Gaffiot 2003. Other articles have appeared frequently in the local history journal, *Le Pays Lorrain*, notably, René Cuénot, "Le château de Lunéville: une bibliographie" (vol. 84, no. 2, 2003); Martine Tronquart, "Lunéville: residence ducale, palais princier, château militaire" (vol. 90, no. 1, 2009); and Alain Philippot and Thierry Franz, "Nouveaux éléments sur le château de Lunéville au temps de Léopold: distribution, décor intérieur et mobilier" (vol. 91, no. 2, 2010).

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Ernest Nègre 1990, p. 374; Jullian/Poncet 1997.

dukes, it was not until the reign of Duke Henri II that the château was rebuilt entirely, in about 1620.[4] This second building did not last very long, and was burned to the ground shortly after the start of the French occupation of Lorraine in the 1630s, which lasted—with a few breaks—until 1698.[5] This brings us to Duke Léopold, who rebuilt Lunéville once again, on a far grander scale, and with far grander symbolic aspirations.

Royal Aspirations

The nineteen-year-old Léopold of Lorraine (reigned 1698-1729) recovered his duchies following the Treaty of Rijswijk of 1697. It is appropriate to speak of 'duchies' because there were in fact two states: Lorraine and Bar. Straddling the frontier between the Kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire, the two duchies had maintained a state of semi-independence since the eleventh century. Part of the Duchy of Bar (west of the river Meuse) was in fact subject to the King of France, but the rest, and the Duchy of Lorraine, were fiefs of the emperor, until 1542, when Duke Antoine was recognised by Charles V as a free and independent prince, a protected client only.[6] For the rest of the sixteenth century—Lorraine's 'golden age'—this 'semi-sovereignty' was sufficient, and the ducal family enjoyed a prominent place amongst the royal and princely families of Europe, marrying into both the Valois and Habsburg dynasties, hosting royal visits, even acting as arbiters in international diplomacy.[7] But the devastations that followed in the

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4 Maugras 1904, p. 9.

5 For recent explorations of the devastations of the Thirty Years War in Lorraine and the French occupation, see Martin 2001; and McCluskey 2013.

6 For a good summary in English, see Monter 2007.

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seventeenth century and the complete loss of status suffered by the exiled ducal family as they moved from place to place convinced Léopold's immediate predecessors that a more rigorous form of dynastic propaganda was essential if the dynasty was to survive as a sovereign house. It was Duke Charles V—who never physically reigned over his duchies—who revived his family's ancient claims to far distant sovereignties in order to claim royal, not merely ducal, status. His bold claims were supported by two achievements: firstly, his first-rate military reputation in Imperial service, notably in the defence of Vienna in 1683 and the subsequent liberation of Hungary from the Turks; and secondly, in his marriage to the sister of the Emperor, Archduchess Eleonora Maria, who brought with her the added benefit of having already obtained royal rank, as widow of the King of Poland, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki.[8]

The claims to distant sovereignties revived by Charles V focused on two, but potentially four, royal kingdoms, spread across Europe. They had been prominently displayed in the coat-of-arms of the dukes since the fifteenth century, though in fact the central element of the Lorraine arms refers to an even older claim: the descent from Godefroy de Bouillon, leader of the First Crusade.[9] Godefroy was Duke of Lower Lorraine (what is now Belgium) in the eleventh century, and famously asked for a divine mark of favour before the siege of Jerusalem in 1099. His shooting of three eagles with a single arrow was taken as this sign, his armies were victorious, and the banner of

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Duke François I married Christine of Denmark, niece of Emperor Charles V. Their son Charles III married Claude of France, daughter of King Henry II. For a recent re-assessment, see Jalabert/ Simiz 2013. An overview of this 'golden age' is given by Le Roux 2013.

8 There is no decent modern biography of Duke Charles V, though there is a useful brief overview by Gaber 1986. There is, however, a recent study of his wife, the 'Queen-Duchess': Kamecka-Skrajna 2007.

9 The symbolism of heraldic display for the revived House of Lorraine in the late fifteenth century has been examined in detail by the art historian Christian de Mérindol: Mérindol 1990.

Lorraine was born. Godefroy's descendants gradually became the dukes of Upper Lorraine (today's Lorraine), and they kept alive their claims to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, long after it fell to the Mamluks in 1291.[10] The Cross of Jerusalem, a squared cross, gold on silver, is an important part of Lorraine heraldry and can be found on buildings, churches, paintings, and tombs all over the region. Spiritually, the Kingdom of Jerusalem gave the dukes of Lorraine a sense of divine mission, akin to that borne by the sons of Saint-Louis in France, or the 'apostolic' rulers of the Holy Roman Empire.[11]

More down to earth, however, the very real Kingdom of Naples offered a better chance of achieving sovereignty and genuine royal status. In the fifteenth century, from 1430 to 1480, the House of Lorraine was merged with the House of Anjou, a junior branch of the French royal dynasty. 'Good King René' was not only Duke of Anjou and Duke of Lorraine and Bar, but also sovereign Count of Provence and a contender for the thrones of Sicily and Naples.[12] After a final attempt to wrest control of southern Italy from the Aragonese in 1462, the House of Lorraine's claims were merely aspirational, and represented visually—and indeed augmented—by claims to thrones previously held or claimed by the House of Anjou: Jerusalem, Naples, Hungary, and ironically, Aragon.

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10 See Munns/Richards/Spangler 2015, in particular the chapter by Robert Sturges, "The Guise and the Two Jerusalems: Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* and an Early Modern Family's Medievalism". See also a forthcoming article by Spangler, "Seeing is Believing: The Ducal House of Lorraine and Visual Display in the Projection of Royal Status", *Journal of Illustration Studies*.

11 For notions of princely genealogical or heraldic claims more generally, see Moeglin 1992. I thank Steven Thiry of the University of Antwerp for this reference.

12 An interesting recent biography combines cultural and political aspects of this fascinating figure: Kekewich 2008.

All four of these kingdoms were represented in the elaborate painted funeral monument to Duke René II in the Cordeliers Chapel in Nancy.[13]

René II had used visual symbols to re-establish the independence (and the unity) of his domains after their near disappearance during the conquests of the Duke of Burgundy in the 1470s. Two centuries later, heraldry and other symbols of authority were once again employed to solidify the rule of an independent duke in 1698, in the face of a still quite powerful French threat. Young Duke Léopold's mother, Eleonora Maria, referred to as the 'Queen-Duchess' since she retained her rank as Queen of Poland,[14] was instrumental in organising her son's restoration, though she herself did not live to see it. She had made sure her son was educated as a royal prince, virtually an extra Habsburg, and Léopold was indeed treated as such by Emperor Leopold and the two archdukes (the future emperors Joseph and Charles). Léopold was therefore determined to retain his mother's gains for his dynasty when he returned to Lorraine in 1698.

One of his first actions as sovereign was to reinforce the image of his father, Duke Charles V, as a Christian prince, a European prince, a defender of the Church against both the Muslim threat in the east, and the betrayer of the Church and the Emperor in the west, that is, the King of France. Louis XIV, even if he did not have formal alliance with the Sultan at this time, at least quietly supported Ottoman policies in the Balkans in fanning noble rebellion in Hungary. At least this was proclaimed by indignant

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13 The House of Lorraine was not the only family to use heraldry to promote themselves into a higher princely order. The House of Savoy did the same, also using claims to Jerusalem, but more specifically displaying the arms of the Kingdom of Cyprus (which had also fallen to Muslim forces by the sixteenth century). Oresko 1997.

14 She continued to call herself 'Sa Majesté' which lent immeasurable prestige to her son in his efforts to recover his duchy. See for example a "Brevet de la Reine Duchesse" giving command of a company of light cavalry to a loyal servant of the Lorraine court in exile, March 1696, printed in [C-L Hugo], *Histoire de la maison des Salles* (Nancy, 1716), preuves, p. cxxxv.

biographies and the Duke's own 'Testament Politique', published soon after his death in 1690.[15] Duke Léopold now followed these with much more grandiose publications celebrating Duke Charles as a Christian hero, and with a series of monumental paintings and tapestries depicting his victories on the Rhine, at Vienna, and in Hungary.[16] One of the boldest visual statements of Lorraine royal aspiration was a frontispiece illustration in one of these books which accompanied a dedication to young Léopold himself, in which he is offered a royal crown, and implored to renew a crusade in the east, this time not stopping in Belgrade, but in Jerusalem itself.[17] Shortly after his accession, Léopold indeed issued edicts and proclamations bearing his full titles, including that of Jerusalem. These were, moreover, stamped with the image of a closed crown, a sovereign crown. Similarly, re-designed ducal coins soon appeared, also with a closed crown and the title 'Rex Ier' ('King of Jerusalem').[18] Léopold also made sure the traditional symbols of Lorraine appeared everywhere, on buildings, on furniture, in printed texts. These included especially the double cross of Lorraine (a symbol from eastern Europe, a further legacy of the House of Anjou), and the three *alérions*, the clawless, beakless white eaglets found on the Lorraine banner, a reminder of the Crusader hero Godefroy de

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15 *Testament Politique de Charles, duc de Lorraine et de Bar* 1697. The probable author is the late Duke's secretary, Abbé Jean-Baptiste de Chèvremont, whose hatred of the Bourbons is evident throughout. La Brune 1691.

16 Anonymous 1701. The author of this work is unknown, though the dedication is 'signed' by DMGP; and although it is undoubtedly printed in Nancy, the artists of the various engravings are mostly German, notably 'Andr. Thelot', most likely Johann Andreas Thelott of the well-known Augsburg family of copper-plate engravers. Five of the paintings survive in the Hofburg in Innsbruck, while several of the tapestries are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna or the Musée Lorrain in Nancy. See Humbert 2003, pp. 98-105.

17 *Abrégé historique*, frontispiece. The young Duke, crowned by Victory and Renown and guided by Mars and Athena, stands before a kneeling woman ('Asia') who presents him with a map depicting the Holy Land.

18 Examples of these are reproduced in Cabourdin 1991, pp. 84-85, 118, 128.

Bouillon. The eaglet more generally made a resurgence in the visual iconography of the House of Lorraine at this point, perhaps as another means of re-asserting ties with the Empire, the land of eagles, in opposition to the lions and lilies of the kingdoms to the west.[19]

On the diplomatic front, Léopold adopted the *traitement royale*, that is, the honorific 'Altesse Royale' before his name, rather than simply 'Altesse' as had been the custom for his predecessors. The Emperor in Vienna (his uncle, godfather, and namesake) approved this form of address right away, in 1700, but Louis XIV refused, despite the urgings of his own brother, Philippe, father of the new Duchess of Lorraine.[20] But the Sun King was not entirely against the elevation of the House of Lorraine to royal status, just not in his back yard: in 1708, at the height of the War of Spanish Succession, the extinction of House of Gonzaga, dukes of Mantua and Monferrato, with Leopold as a principal heir, led the King himself to propose that Léopold be given a newly constructed 'Kingdom of Lombardy', in part to counter-balance the rise of Savoy-Piedmont. But in this instance, the Emperor betrayed his kinsman, and gave the territory instead to his ally from Savoy, as part of the new kingdom of Sicily (later Sardinia).[21] Léopold was

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Another image printed in Cabourdin (p. 108) demonstrates the ubiquity of this 'image campaign': a faïence bottle from Léopold's new ceramics factory is imprinted with a closed crown and both the square cross of Jerusalem and the double cross of Lorraine.

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AD, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Fonds de Vienne, 3 F 1 Mi 1291, grant of royal prerogatives to Duke Léopold by Emperor Leopold, 2 October 1700. The Fonds de Vienne also includes a letter written in 1717 by Duke Léopold to the Regent of France (his brother-in-law, the Duc d'Orléans), recounting the earlier rejection of his 'royal' status by Louis XIV in 1700, despite the intervention of Orléans' father (Philippe d'Orléans, known as 'Monsieur'): "feu Monsieur, sa bonté pour moi, en reparla au Roi, et crut que ma demande ne ferait pas de difficulté, mais on me répondit, que ce que l'Empereur avait fait ne servait pas d'exemple en France, et l'on me fit connaître, que l'on ne'était pas porté à m'accorder ce que je demandais, cela ne m'empêcha d'en plus parler." Printed in Harsany 1939, p. 518.

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Collin 2009, pp. 291-302 (specifically p. 301).

prevented from even sending representatives to the peace talks at Utrecht in 1713, and he would have to wait until 1718 for the government of the Regent of France (his brother-in-law, the duc d'Orléans) to recognise his right to the *traitement royale*.[22]

Lunéville

Regardless of the French position in international diplomacy, Duke Léopold attempted to achieve his royal dreams on his own. But he recognised that he needed to perform a balancing act to survive—neither too pro-Austrian, nor too pro-French. The greatest representation of this can be seen in his plans for the new palace at Lunéville. Having first restored the Palais Ducal in Nancy to a habitable state, Léopold turned to reconstruction plans for a palace outside the capital, a 'Versailles lorrain'. Léopold had been raised in the Hofburg in Vienna, but had seen Versailles when he visited in 1699, and plans were prepared by various architects from 1703, before he turned in 1709 to a French architect, Germain Boffrand, a pupil of Mansard.[23] Boffrand drew up plans for an H-plan palace, though the extension of the north-east wing was never completed, due to problems with financing and yet another European war. The War of the Spanish Succession actually sped up the process of building by necessity, as the ducal family was forced to live at Lunéville during another French occupation of Nancy. A slower pace

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22 This was partly a reaction to rumours that Duke Léopold's son had been proposed as groom for an Austrian archduchess (especially after the Emperor Charles VI's only son had died in November 1716) and that the Emperor was considering giving the Duke the position of Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands, or that of Imperial Vicar in Italy, to rule as a semi-sovereign in Milan. The French countered with the idea of an Italian exchange of their own, suggesting instead Tuscany, which eventually came to pass in 1737. Baumont, 1894, p. 298; d'Haussonville 1860, vol. IV, pp. 265-66, rumours from the French envoy Jean-Baptiste d'Audiffret to the Regent Orléans in 1715 and 1717.

23 On Boffrand and Lunéville, see Franz 2003, pp. 17-25. Or more generally, Gallet/ Garms 1986.

returned with peace in 1714, so it was not until 1723 that the court formally transferred to the new location.

The palace combined French and Italian design features; likewise the court etiquette established by Léopold and his French-born duchess (Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans) was a mixture of forms: they held a Bourbon-style *lever* in the morning, but only an informal *coucher*, and, like the Habsburgs in Vienna, they did not dine in public.[24] The layout of the palace interior followed forms now standard across Europe, with a double *enfilade*: a suite of rooms for the Duke along the south side—*salle des gardes*, *chambre*, *antichambre*, and *cabinet privé*—and a matching suite of rooms for the Duchess across the *cour d'honneur* on the northern side. This may seem like a French influence, but it is important to remember that this layout has been more properly referred to as the 'Burgundian' system, and had been in place in Madrid and other Habsburg court residences long before it was adopted in France.[25] In addition, Léopold's palace contained more private spaces for his family (in the southeast wing), something more in tune with Habsburg style, not that of Versailles. The newly designed gardens followed the plan of a French formal garden, geometrically laid out upon axes radiating from the focal point of the centre of the château, on a design by Yves des Hours, a disciple of Le Nôtre.[26] This was augmented later with fountains and cascades like those seen at the country residence of the Duke's father-in-law, Philippe, duc d'Orléans, at Saint-Cloud.[27]

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24 Cabourdin 1991, p. 93. Zedinger 2003, p. 36.

25 Paravicini 1991. For a much earlier example (1540s) of a second-tier prince building a palace that would balance his diplomatic relations between France and the Empire, see Spangler 2009, pp. 49-62.

26 Tronquart 2010, pp. 125-138.

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At the same time as overseeing designs for his partly 'French' palace, Léopold commissioned a partly 'Imperial' opera house in Nancy, by the architect Francesco Galli Bibiena. Bibiena, of the famous dynasty of designers from Bologna, was known throughout Europe as the architect of the recently completed opera house in the Hofburg in Vienna. Art historian Mireille Canet describes Bibiena's designs for the Opéra in Nancy as Viennese baroque with French classical influences.[28] The same can be said for the interior paintings done by Bibiena's student, Giacomo Barilli, described as a master of "audacious perspective", as seen in one of the surviving ceilings of the now vanished opera house, currently in the Hôtel Ferraris in Nancy.[29] In contrast to an Italo-Imperial design, the music on offer in the opera house was mostly composed by a Frenchman, Henry Desmarest. But Desmarest was an exile who had spent several years in the court of Spain, then Brussels before coming to Lorraine, and as a result, his musical style is described by musicologists as French classical, but with a greater complexity of emotion similar to that heard in music from Italy and Spain.[30] Archival sources in Nancy show how clearly Duke Léopold valued the services of Desmarest as a means of bringing an 'international' reputation to his court: his wage in 1708 is listed as 2,000 *francs barrois*, more than double the amount paid to the other members of the Duke's *Musique*, and even more than the ordinary wage given to members of the Council of State.[31] This

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28 See Krause 1996, pp. 96-113.

29 Canet 2003, pp. 127-134. See D'Amia 2002, pp. 127-30.

30 Voreaux 1998, pp. 77-81.

31 Desmarest's music is analysed in an international context by various authors in Duron/ Ferraton 2005. The most complete biography remains Antoine 1965.

cosmopolitan court created by Léopold, part French, part Austrian, part Italian, supported Léopold's message that the House of Lorraine was *not* a local aristocratic family, but a European dynasty, on an equal footing with other royal dynasties.

As was fitting for this royal status, in the early years of its construction, the Palace of Lunéville played host to some very interesting royal exiles: the Duchess of Mantua (born a princess of the House of Lorraine) fled here after her husband's territories were overrun by the Austrians in 1707.[32] The Stuart Pretender, James III, under the pseudonym 'le Chevalier de St-Georges', was given refuge at the other ducal capital, Bar-le-Duc, from 1713 to 1716, and frequently visited the court of Lorraine in Lunéville and Nancy, notably to attend the opera.[33] In the summer of 1714, Lunéville hosted another exiled sovereign, travelling incognito as the 'Comte de Cronstein'.[34] This was Stanislas Leszczyński, who had been chased off his throne in Poland in 1709. We can only speculate whether he met the Stuart Pretender or not, but one frequently repeated anecdote concerning this visit reinforces the view Duke Léopold was trying to project as a gracious royal host. When the ex-king attempted to offer his jewels to pay for his accommodation, the Duke refused to accept them; instead, he gave Stanislas their

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One of the only other courtiers on a similar scale salary is Sieur André, intendant des bâtiments, underlying the importance to Léopold of both music and architecture. AD, Meurthe-et-Moselle, 3 F 289, no. 96, fol. 9 v°.

32 Saint-Simon 1982-88, vol. II, p. 946.

33 See the chapter "From France to Lorraine, 1712-1715", in Corp 2004, pp. 280-99. James recalled that he much preferred the opera at Nancy to that in Paris (letter of James III to the Duke of Lorraine, 15 Mar 1718, cited in Corp, p. 294). See also Bély 1992, pp. 40-43.

34 'Cronstein', is now Żórawki in West Pomerania, near Szczecin. King Charles XII of Sweden had been Stanislas' chief supporter in Poland, and after 1714 provided him with the Duchy of Zweibrücken for his residence.

equivalent value in coin as a gift.[35] Stanislas and his family again lived for a time at the court of Lorraine in 1718, before being given a more permanent refuge in France in 1719. His links with the region were strengthened when in 1725 his daughter Maria married the King of France, Louis XV, and from 1737 he returned once again to Lorraine, this time as its last duke.

Maintaining Royal Dignity

The arrival of Stanislas (or Stanisław) Leszczyński in 1737 was part of a treaty arrangement between the Great Powers of Europe, by which the Duke of Lorraine was allowed to marry the Habsburg heiress, Maria Theresa, in return for renouncing his hereditary duchies. In compensation, he was given the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the King of France's homeless father-in-law, Stanislas, was given the Duchy of Lorraine to rule in the name of France. The government of Lorraine in the 1740s-60s was tightly controlled by French officials, but the court at Lunéville was presided over by Stanislas as a sovereign, and became famous as a centre of the Enlightenment. Having no real governing to do, the ex-King of Poland focused his energies instead on lavish patronage of the arts, sciences, industry, and education. This was done in part to ensure that he maintained the dignity of a 'regal' lifestyle, an effort that was supported by the French king, who was keen to uphold the status of the Leszczyński Dynasty … perhaps for fear of embarrassment for having married one of them.[36] For over twenty-five years, the court

35 Cabourdin 1980, p. 21; Muratori-Philip 2000, pp. 51-53. The story seems to come from a letter written by one of Léopold's councillors, Joseph Le Bègue, printed in Noël 1838-45 [originally printed in 1738], vol. V, p. 106.

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at Lunéville was a flourishing centre of royal patronage. Stanislas established a college of medicine, a botanical garden, and other worthy establishments in Nancy.[37] But it is his court at Lunéville that is celebrated.

A relatively liberal and tolerant court, it was attended by the well-known *salonnière* and epistolary author, Madame de Graffigny, and the poet and philosopher, the marquis de Saint-Lambert. Saint-Lambert's mistress was the scientist Emilie du Châtelet, who was also, more famously, the lover and protector of Voltaire at her château of Cirey, just across the border, in Champagne. In 1748, Stanislas invited Voltaire to come live in Lunéville with the marquise du Châtelet after things got a bit too hot for Voltaire following some of his more scandalous publications in Paris.[38] Thus it was convenient that Lorraine was *de facto* a French province, but *de jure* a sovereign state, and Voltaire therefore could be sustained outside French legal jurisdiction by the former king. In return, Voltaire helped Stanislas foster a truly Enlightened court culture, a more open, less censored, rival to Louis XV's Versailles. One of Voltaire's constant themes in his writings was his love of the English, and indeed we do see from this period the

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The marriage of Maria Leszczyńska in 1725 was the product of dynastic rivalries between various members of the Bourbon Dynasty, her marriage to the King coming effectively as a block by the duc de Bourbon versus the plans of his rival the duc d'Orléans. In fact, the young Polish princess had at various points been proposed as a bride for both Bourbon and Orléans themselves. Rogister 2004, pp. 186-218.

37 See the two chief modern biographical studies cited above (Cabourdin 1980; Muratori-Philip 2000), and the various chapters in the Charles-Gaffiot *Lunéville* volume on Stanislas as patron of the Enlightenment and his re-designs for the palace and its gardens; or in *Stanislas: un roi de Pologne en Lorraine* (exhibition catalogue, Musée Lorrain, Nancy, 2004). A still useful older study is Pierre Boye, *La Cour Polonaise de Lunéville* (Nancy, 1926). For a more recent academic work on one aspect of this patronage, see Tyszczuk 2007. And for a detailed chronological account of his charitable foundations while reigning in Lorraine, published shortly after his death, see Aubert 1769.

38 Smith 2004, pp. 329-343. Mme de Graffigny wrote a short account of the affair: *La Vie privée de Voltaire et de Mme Du Châtelet* (Paris, 1820). For a recent biography, see Zinsser 2006, specifically pp. 259-260 on Voltaire's invitation to the court at Lunéville in 1748.

transformation of the formal gardens at Lunéville into a 'jardin à l'anglaise'.[39] At about the same time as he was sheltering this critic of the French monarchy, Stanislas also harboured a critic of the British monarchy, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', the 'Young Pretender', the son of the 'Chevalier de Saint-Georges'. He was permitted to reside somewhere in Lunéville—the whereabouts are not exactly known—following the failure of the Jacobite uprising in Scotland in 1745, and after he was no longer welcome in France. Little is known about the Young Pretender's time in Lorraine, except for indications that he spent it studying astronomy, one of the passions he shared with Stanislas, and rowing on the canal in the gardens with his Polish mistress, Marie-Anne-Louise Jabłonowska, princesse de Talmont.[40]

As Duke of Lorraine, Stanislas was careful to maintain the dignity of its court. He did this by cultivating the high regional nobility, granting them the most prestigious positions in his household and posts in his small (mostly ceremonial) military force. While some of the topmost posts were given to his loyal fellow exiles from Poland (Ossoliński was Grand Maître de l'Hôtel; Meszek was Grand Maréchal du Palais; Zaluski was Grand Aumônier), others were held by representatives of the grandest and oldest families from Lorraine (Custine was Grand Ecuyer, Haussonville was Grand Louvetier), some families continuing to hold on to the same office from regime to regime (Lenoncourts were successively appointed Grand Maître de la Garderobe). Among the dozen or so *gentilshommes de la chambre* were other names familiar in the history of

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39 Chapotot-Le Clerre 2003, pp. 213-219.

40 McLynn 1988, pp. 380-91. It is worth noting that the Princess was also Stanislas' first cousin and she had also previously been his mistress (as had been her sister, the duchesse Ossoliński). Muratori-Philip, 2000, pp. 182-83.

Lorraine: Bassompierre, Ludres, Gournay.[41] The Régiment Royal-Pologne (created in 1737) was headed by another Custine; the Dragoons of Lorraine were commanded by successive Bassompierres; while the Régiment Royal-Lorraine (cavalry) was commanded from 1749 to 1762 by a Des Salles, all old Lorraine court families.[42] Stanislas also supported prominent artists and craftsmen who had previously served the ducal family. Many of these had followed the House of Lorraine, first to Florence, then to Vienna after 1740, but others chose to remain, and Stanislas made sure these were favoured with his patronage. A prominent painter in the previous regime, André Joly, was by 1738 already known as a 'peintre du Roy', and was commissioned to redecorate the interiors of the various 'maisons de plaisir' inherited by the new regime of the ex-king, as well as interiors at Lunéville itself. Two of Joly's chief works, executed in the 1750s, were the interior of the church of Saint-Jacques in Lunéville, and the vestibule of the Hôtel de Ville in Nancy.[43] Other designers and architects were employed to build a new pleasure palace at Chanteheux, and to rebuild other ducal châteaux and gardens at Commercy, Malgrange and Einville.

Similar to the court of France in the mid-eighteenth century, the court at Lunéville presided over by King Stanislas was heavily influenced by female favourites. The Queen, Katarzyna Opalińska, was often unwell and stayed mostly out of the spotlight.[44]

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41 Muratori-Philip 2000, pp. 181-186. Contemporary lists of court officers can be found in Bermann 1763, pp. 176-218.

42 Detailed regimental histories for all of *ancien régime* France by the military historian General Susane (known as the 'Historiques Susane') can be found at www.ancestramil.fr [accessed July 2014].

43 Voreaux 1996, pp. 237-254.

44

In her absence, the role of first lady of the court was filled by others who had caught the eye of the monarch. The four daughters of the prince and princesse de Beauvau-Craon, all named to positions as *dames d'honneur* of the new Queen-Duchess, are said to have 'served' in succession as mistress to their new sovereign.[45] The last of these was the celebrated marquise de Boufflers, royal mistress in the 1750s, and 'queen' of this very artistic court.[46] The prominence of these four sisters is strong testimony to the willingness of the local Lorraine aristocracy to aid Stanislas in his efforts to maintain his royal dignity, and the dignity of the ducal court at Lunéville in its last years. This is especially noteworthy considering that the parents of these women were the leading courtiers of the previous reign, the prince and princesse de Beauvau-Craon, who departed from Lorraine in 1737 to serve as viceroys of Tuscany, but who did not move on to Vienna when the Grand Duke was elected Emperor in 1745 as many other Lorrainers did. They and their children returned instead to Lorraine, where their eldest son, Charles-Juste, was rewarded with the position of Grand Maître de l'Hôtel in 1756. This position carried a lucrative wage, but also great prestige. And it was the prince de Beauvau who presided over the last ducal funeral in Lorraine, in February 1766.[47]

Memory:

A brief medical analysis is provided in a post-script to medical doctor Carolus-Curien 2007, pp. 205-206. After years of exile and moving residence from place to place, it seems the damp climate of Lunéville (with its rivers and ponds) was too much for the Queen's health, and she died in 1747.

45 See a recent chapter by this author on the Beauvau family and its relationship with the court of Lorraine: Spangler, 2016.

46 See Pollitzer 1970.

47 See Beau 1966, pp. 73–92, here 76, 89, citing Archives Nationales de France, K 1189, Maison du roi de Pologne.

The dignity of King Stanislas Leszczyński had been maintained, and he was buried with full royal honours in the church he had himself commissioned: Notre-Dame de Bon Secours on the outskirts of Nancy. This building was symbolic in multiple ways: it was both a memorial to the battle of Nancy, 5 January 1477, a pivotal moment in Lorraine's ducal history when the Duchy was saved from being annexed by Burgundy, a symbol of Lorraine's aspirations of sovereignty, even 'nationhood'; but it was also the site of a strong Marian tradition, a reminder of the Polish origins of the former king, and with links to France through his daughter the Queen, who shared his devotion to the Virgin Mary (and indeed, her name).[48] Perhaps it allowed him to dream of home. His dream-world court—presided over a sovereign with no real sovereignty—would be remembered by posterity as one of the high points of the history of Lorraine, commemorated today by the imposing statue that dominates the main square in Nancy, renamed in his honour, Place Stanislas. But Duke Léopold's dream had been fulfilled as well, although not quite as he had intended. Though he built a residence fit for a king, it was not his son and successor who occupied it. Nevertheless, his strategy for raising the dynasty's status had indeed succeeded, in that his heir, François III, exchanged his name and his number in 1745 to become Emperor Franz I.[49] Lunéville had given birth to these dynastic dreams, but it was Vienna where such dreams would come true.

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48 Muratori-Philip 2000, pp. 204-207; Tyszczuk 2007, pp. 233-239.

49 He had first descended in number in 1737 to become Francesco II, Grand Duke of Tuscany. For the most recent study repositioning him as more than simply Empress Maria Theresa's consort, see Zedinger 2008.